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THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE CLUNIAN PRIORY OF SAINT PANCRAZ AT LEWES.¹

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There are probably few religious houses the account of whose foundation is so clearly set forth as that of the great Clunian monastery of St. Pancras, established at Lewes by William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, eight centuries ago. Here we are not dependent on the written tradition of some medieval chronicler, nor on the coloured narrative of an inmate of the house, but the whole history is unaffectedly laid down for us by the founder himself.²

At some time between the accession of William Rufus in 1087, and his own decease in the following year, on the representation of his Lewes monks that the original charter of 1077 founding the Priory had been sent to the mother house of Cluny, and that the prior and convent of Lewes had no title deeds or muniments to produce in evidence of their rights and privileges if any dispute arose consequent upon the unsettled state of the kingdom, earl Warenne drew up a second charter, confirming to the monks of Lewes the grants and gifts he had made eleven years before. It is from this most singularly interesting document that we learn how and under what circumstances the monastery was founded.

No better account of the foundation can be written than an English version of earl Warenne's own words.³

¹ Read in the Architectural Section at the Lewes Meeting, August 1st, 1883

² A very good account of the Priory will be found in Vol. II of "Sussex

Archæological Collections."

³ For a transcript of the original in the Chartulary, made expressly for this paper, see Appendix, Note A.

"In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. I, William de Warenne, and Gundrada my wife, wishing to journey to Saint Peter at Rome, proceeded through many monasteries in France and Burgundy for the sake of prayer. And when we had come into Burgundy, we learned that we could not safely pass through on account of the war that was at that time between the pope and the emperor. And then we turned to the monastery of Cluny, a great and holy abbey in honour of St. Peter, and there we adored and sought St. Peter. And because we found the sanctity, the religion, and the charity so great there, and the honour towards us from the good prior and all the holy convent who received us into their society and fraternity, we began to have a love and devotion towards that Order and to that house above all other houses which we had seen. But Dan Hugh, their holy abbot, was not then at home. And because long before, and more so then, by the advice of the lord archbishop Lanfranc, I and my wife had it in purpose and desire to found some house of religion for our sins and the safety of our souls, it then seemed to us that we wished to make it of no other Order so gladly as the Cluniac. So we sent and asked of Dan Hugh the abbot and of all the holy congregation to grant us two or three or four monks of their holy flock, to whom we would give a church, which we built of stone in place of a wooden one, below our castle of Lewes, that was of old time in honour of St. Pancras, and this (church) we would give them, and so much lands and beasts and property to begin with whence twelve monks¹ could be there sustained. But the holy abbot was at first very adverse to us to hear our petition, on account of the distance of the foreign land and especially by reason of the sea. But after that we asked for licence from our lord king William to bring the Cluniac monks to England and the abbot on his part asked the king's will, then at length he gave and sent us four of his monks, Dan Lanzo and his three fellows; to whom we gave all the things which we promised in the beginning and confirmed them by our writing; which we sent to the abbot and convent of Cluny, because they would not send us the monks before they had our confirmation and the king's, which we promised them of all the things that we gave them. And so the Cluniac monks were given to me and my wife in England. But after the death of my lord king William, when his son William had come to England for the kingdom and there had been much discord concerning the kingdom and doubt about the end, and I myself in many dangers daily: Dan Lanzo the prior and my monks shewed me that my confirmation which I had made of the things that I had given them at first was at Cluny, and that they themselves had since no protection, and that by reason of the doubtful and future times I ought to make them every security for my gifts and grants. Which I willingly made by the advice of my faithful ones by this my other charter:—"

Then follows a recapitulation of various manors, tithes, privileges, immunities, etc., granted to the priory, after which the earl continues:

"Besides I will that my monks and my heirs know that when I and Gundrada asked Dan Hugh the abbot, who had come into Normandy

¹ A usual number, representing with their head, Christ and the twelve Apostles.

to speak with my lord the king, to restore us Dan Lanzo our prior, whom he had kept a whole year at Cluny—whence we were so incensed that we almost proposed to give up our undertaking, or to withdraw from them and give our church to a greater monastery—the abbot then also granted us, and promised with much deprecation, that if God should increase our house, he would make it as one of the great (houses of the Order) after Dan Lanzo's death, or promotion to any higher dignity; that when the monks of Saint Pancras should send to Cluny for a prior, they would send to them as prior one of their better monks of the whole congregation, whom they knew to be more pious towards the Order and the ruling of souls according to God, and wiser towards governing the house according to his age, saving the greater prior of Cluny and the prior of Caritas. And that he should remain, and at no time be removed, unless there should be so just and manifest a reason that no one could reasonably gainsay; and thereupon he made for us his writing with his seal, which I have. And these things we asked for, because we feared that Dan Lanzo, when he returned, would soon be taken away from us, because the king exalted to the dignities of the church the better men whom he could find, and, in our hearing, asked the abbot to send him twelve of his holy monks, and he would make them all bishops and abbots in the land of his inheritance which God had given him. And we also considered beforehand that if the still new and tender house often had a new prior and came into new hands, it would never attain to great growth."

As in the case of many other great houses the later history of Lewes Priory is remarkably scanty. Sundry items may be gathered from the Chartulary,¹ and others from a volume among the Cotton MSS. known as the 'Annals of Lewes.'² The latter work, however, chronicles events relating to other monasteries of the Cluniac Order, both in England and on the continent, and it is not always clear that Lewes is the house referred to.

It will be more convenient to divide this paper into two sections—the first describing the church; the second the conventual buildings. Curiously enough, of the church itself we have hardly any actual fragments, at any rate above ground, though almost all the historical evidence relates to it; while of the conventual buildings very considerable remains exist, of whose documentary history we are utterly ignorant. Another feature worthy of attention is the remarkably clear way in which, even from the mere fragment of the entire ground plan we have been able to survey, it is possible to trace how the monastery was enlarged in various directions to meet the requirements of

¹ Cott. MS, Vespasian. F. xv.

² Cott. MS. { Tiberius A.x.
Plutarch xxix. D.

increased numbers, and this, too, at periods very little distant from one another.

There seems no reason to doubt that the first church of the priory was the one given by the founder to the first monks, which he describes as "the church which we built of stone in place of a wooden one, below our castle of Lewes, that was of old time in honour of St. Pancras."

As earl William came to England with the duke of Normandy, William the Great, in 1066, this church in 1077—when the priory was founded—could not have been more than a few years old, and it was doubtless large enough for the handful of monks who formed the new convent. Since, however, the founder had endowed the priory for twelve monks, the first church would not long suffice for the services of an increased number of brethren, neither was it furnished with the necessary conventual buildings. And as it was the custom in all the Orders, first to build themselves an *oratorium*, or church, and that of such a plan that the cloister and surrounding buildings could conveniently be added thereto, the founder's stone church, if not rebuilt, was probably enlarged by the addition of a choir and transepts, and a permanent circuit of offices attached to it.

According to a charter of the second earl Warenne¹ this enlarged church was dedicated by bishops Ralph of Chichester, Walkelin of Winchester, and Gundulf of Rochester, that is between 1091 and 1098; a date that agrees well with the remains of those portions of the conventual buildings which were a continuation of the same work.

Further endowments furnished the means for, and more monks necessitated, additional accommodation; the church was therefore again enlarged and a corresponding extension made of the conventual buildings. This took place during the life of the third earl, and the church was dedicated between 1142 and 1147.

In 1229 the Annals record "the chapel of the Blessed Mary was constructed anew, and the first mass celebrated in it on the vigil of St. Nicholas."² But we are not told whether it was at Lewes or not.

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

² For references to these and other entries see *postea*.

In 1243 occurs another dubious entry. "On the day of the anniversary of lord William the earl, the foundation was laid in the new work of our church." The mention of the founder's name seems to identify this with Lewes, though the place is not named, and a charter of 1247 mentions one John who was *magister operum ecclesie*.

Passing by sundry records of burials, to which I shall return shortly, we come to the year 1268, when prior William de Foville died, leaving amongst other bequests 200 marks "to the finishing the two towers in the front of the church."

This is the last record of any addition to, or alteration in the church, and the next step in its history with which we are concerned is its destruction.

The priory was suppressed on November 16, 1537 (29 Hen. VIII.) and three months afterwards by deed dated Feb. 16, 1537-8, the King granted the whole of the site to Thomas, lord Cromwell.¹ The too infamous *malleus monachorum* thereupon promptly proceeded to pull down the church, as being part of the monastery that could not easily be converted into cowsheds and piggeries. A most graphic account of the melancholy destruction of the great church has come down to us in a letter² written to Cromwell by one of his agents, who calls himself "John Portinari," but whose handwriting is strangely similar to that of Richard Moryson, a well-known creature of Cromwell's. The letter not only describes the mode of destruction, but is especially valuable from giving the approximate size and extent of the church. No apology is therefore necessary for giving it in full.

My lord, I humbly comēd my selfe unto y^{or} lordshyp. The laste, I wrote unto y^{or} lordshyp, was the xxth daye of thys present moneth, by the handes of Mr Wyliamson, by the whych I advertised y^{or} lordshyp, of the lengthe and greatenes of thys churche, and how we had begon to pull the hole down to the ground, and what maner and fashion they used in pulling it down. I told y^{or} lordshyp, of a vaute, on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altare, that was borñ up, w^h fower greate pillars, having about it, v chappelles, whych be compased in wth the walles, lxx. stepes of lengthe, that is, fete cex. All thys is dowñ a Thursday and fryday last. Now we are pluckyng dowñ an hygher vaute, borñ up by fower thicke & grose pillars, xiiij fote fro syde to syde, about in circūferēce

¹ See Appendix, Note D.

² Cott. MS. Cleopatra. E. iv. 232. The letter has already been printed in "Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries" (p. 180), edited for the Camden

Society by Thomas Wright, 1843, but as the printed copy contains several errors, an entirely new, and it is hoped, correct transcript has been made for this paper.

xlv. fote. Thys shall dowñ for oʳ second worke.¹ As it goth forward, I woll advise y^{or} lordshyp from tyme to tyme, and that y^{or} lordshyp may knowe wth how many mē, we have don thys, we browght from London, xvij. persons, 3 carpētars, 2 smythes, 2 plummars, and on that kepith the fornace. exʷy of these, attendith to hys owñ office. x. of them, hewed the walles abowte, amōge the whyche, ther were 3 carpentars. thiese made proetes to undersette wher the other cutte away, thother brake and cutte the waules. Thiese are mē exercised, moch better than the mē that we fynd here in the contrey. Wherfor we must both have mo mē, and other thinges also, that we have nede of, all the whych I woll wⁱⁿ thys ij or thre dayes show y^{or} lordshyp by mouthe. A tuesday, they began to cast the ledde, and it shalbe don w^t such diligēce & savyng as may be, so that oʳ trust is y^{or} lordshyp, shall be moch satisfied w^t that we do, unto whom, I most humbly comēd my selfe, moch desiringe God, to mainteyñ y^{or} helth, y^{or} honoʳ, y^{or} hartes ease. at Lewes the xxiiij of March 1537.

y^{or} lordshyps servant

Johñ portinari.

Under nethe here, y^{or} lordshyp
shall see, a iuste mesure
of the hole abbey

The churche is in lengthe, CL fote.

The heygthe, lxiiij fote.

The circūferēce abowte it, M.D. lviiij fote.

The wall of the forefronte, thicke x. fote.

The thyckenes of the stepil wall x. fote.

The thickenes of the waules interno, v. fo.

Ther be in the churche xxxij. pillars, standyng equally from the walles.

An hyghe Roufe,² made for the belles.

Eyght pillars verry bygge, thicke xiiij. fo, abowte xlv. fo.

Thother xxiiij, ar for the moste parte x fote thicke, & xxv. abowght.

The heygthe of the greater sorte, is xlij. fo. of thother xviiij fote.

The heygthe of the roufe before the hyghe altare, is lxxxxiiij fote.

In the middes of the church, where the belles dyd hange, an CV fote.

The heygthe of the stepil at the fronte is lxxxx fote.

So complete does the demolition of the church appear to have been, that its very site passed out of recollection; and it was not until three centuries had elapsed that mere accident again brought it to light.

In 1845, during the construction of the railway from Brighton to Lewes, a wide cutting was carried across part of the site of the priory. It ran in an oblique direction from south west to north east, passing over the sites of the kitchen, fratriy, cloister, chapter house, and part of the church. Sundry curious discoveries were made during its construction—amongst other finds being the leaden cists containing the bones of the founder and his wife—

¹ It has been suggested that the destroyers commenced with the loftiest portions first so as to make the greatest

show of destruction in the shortest time.

² *Vault* erased.

but at present we are only concerned with such as relate to the fabric.

Mr. M. A. Lower, in a report to the British Archaeological Association,¹ after describing the discovery of various graves, continues :

“Up to this point no regular foundations of buildings could be made out. In several places, masses of chalk have been introduced into the natural soil for the purpose of making a hard bottom ; but though of vast extent and depth, it does not appear what kind of masonry they supported. At the distance of some yards to the south-east, however, the traces of masonry became more intelligible, and at length remains of walls became distinctly visible. The first regular apartment discovered was a room 26 ft. 6 ins. square, with a semicircular apsis on the east side. From the foundation of the square basis of a pillar in the centre, and some appearances on the walls, it is pretty certain that this room had a vaulted roof. At the demolition of the conventual buildings, it would seem that undermining was one of the means of destruction resorted to. It seems that the earth was excavated beneath the south-east angle of this apartment, and hence that portion of the wall was thrown out of the horizontal line. Here was found the stone which formed the base of the central column ; it is of Sussex marble, 2½ feet square. The floor of the apsis was raised above the general floor of the apartment. The former had been covered with concrete, and the latter with figured tiles, some remains of which existed, but in so decayed a state, that they could not be removed entire. On a part of the wall of the apsis which remained, there were some slight traces of painting, representing the lower portion of a sacerdotal robe. Near the middle of the wall of the apsis was an oblong well, neatly lined with chalk, measuring 3 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 9 ins., and 22 feet in depth. It had been filled up with earth and rubble, and must have been disused before the building was erected.

“After this room, which may have been the *baptistery* or the *treasury* of the convent, had been fully developed, the workmen employed by the Committee began, under my direction, to explore the ground to the northward, and soon laid open the apsis or chapel, bounded on the north by a vast mass of flint work, apparently designed to support one of the piers of a tower. Proceeding in an easterly direction from this, three other semicircular chapels presented themselves. In some places three courses of ashlar were exposed, placed upon the loamy soil, and *unsupported by any foundation*. From the general direction of the walls, it can scarcely be doubted that they enclosed the *choir* of the great church of the priory. When the course of these walls had been explored as far as the chapel, all traces of building suddenly disappeared, and we have not been able to recover them. There are two steps rising towards the north, apparently into the nave of the church.”

Thus far Mr. Lower. We have also a more valuable record even than his report in a very careful ground plan of the discoveries made at the time by Mr. J. L. Parsons,

¹ Journal of the British Archaeological Association, i, 355.

who has most kindly placed it at our disposal. But for his energy and foresight all precise information would have been lost for ever, for the site of the buildings discovered now hangs in mid-air; the line having been laid some feet below the foundations.

Since the discovery of the east end, a large fragment of the opposite extremity of the church was laid bare by the late Mr. John Blaker in 1849 or 1850; and the south jamb of the west door of the north aisle was discovered by us last year.

From these portions and Mr. Parsons' plan, aided by an analysis of Portinari's letter, the entire plan of the great church has been laid down with some probable degree of accuracy by my friend Mr. Somers Clarke, Jun., F.S.A., who has ingeniously interpreted the vague language of the letter by a careful comparison of contemporary buildings.

Beginning at the east end, Portinari speaks of "a vaute, on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altare, that was borne up, with fower greate pillars, having abowt it, v chappelles, whych be compased in with the walles, lxx stepes of lengthe, that is, fete ccx," and it continues, "Now we are pluckyng downe an hygher vaute, borne up by fower thicke & grosse pillars, xiiij fote from syde to syde, abowt in circumference xlv. fote." It is clear, therefore, that the church had a greater and a lesser transept, and the two sets of four piers supported the two crossings. The eastern transept we know, from excavations, to have been about 106 feet long, with an apsidal chapel opening out of each arm. The crossing itself was apparently surmounted by a lantern 93 feet high to the vaulting, or 30 feet higher than the main vault. Eastward of the crossing the church terminated in a semicircular apse encircled by an aisle, with the beautiful feature, so rare in England, of a corona of apsidal chapels, five in number. The discovery of three of these is described by Mr. Lower.

At the south end of the eastern transept was the apartment described as the baptistery or treasury. There are, however, no grounds whatever for identifying it with either building, and there is little doubt that it was the sacristy. It was furnished as usual with an altar, and

opened by a narrow doorway into a passage nine feet wide, forming a covered way from the infirmary to the church, into which there was an ascent of several steps.

Proceeding westward four bays from the eastern crossing, we reach the great transept; but before describing it a digression is necessary to say a few words about the high altar.

In attempting to fix the position of this important feature, we are confronted with a difficulty. Portinari's letter describes the vault of the upper crossing as "on the ryghte syde of the hyghe altare." Now it is possible to make "ryghte syde" east or west of any point according as one faces south or north. Supposing then that the worthy visitor entered the church by the passage from the infirmary (where he was doubtless living at the expense of the convent on the fat of the land); if the altar stood on the line of the first bay west of the upper crossing, where it probably did originally, then the crossing would be on his right hand, and beyond the altar. But one of the items at the end of the letter, giving a "juste mesure of the hole abbey," states that "the heygthe of the roufe *before the hyghe altare* is lxxxiiij fote," and since the list itself seems fairly trustworthy, from analogy with other churches having double transepts, such as Canterbury, Lincoln, and Salisbury, we must place the high altar at Lewes beneath the eastern arch of the upper crossing: the vault will then be *before*, that is, *in front of*, the altar. The difficulty lies in reconciling two apparently contradictory statements. We must either look upon the text of the letter as written solely for the purpose of creating a favourable impression on Cromwell of the zeal with which his miscreants were destroying God's sanctuary, and therefore as being more or less loosely worded as to details; or we must interpret the phrase "ryghte side" to mean the front of the altar in contradistinction to the "back syde" or "wrong side." The table of dimensions was probably added from a careful survey made to ascertain the exact value of the lead and ashlar, and may therefore be looked upon as fairly correct.

The great transept was about 116 feet long, and probably aisleless, with an apse opening out of each wing.

The piers supporting the main crossing are described as forty-two feet high, and the vault above them "in the middes of the church, where the belles dyd hange" as 105 feet.

Of the nave we at present know nothing. Its site lies beneath a lawn and a kitchen garden, and some day we may hope to excavate there. Meanwhile we must rely upon Portinari's dimensions. He says "Ther be in the churche xxxij. pillars, standyng equally from the walles," and proceeds to describe them as "Eygth pillars verry bygge, thicke xiiij fo, abowte xlv fo. Thother xxiiij, ar for the moste part x fote thicke, & xxv abowght. The heygthe of the greater sorte is xlij. fo. of thother xviiij fote. The thickenes of the waules interno, v fo."

The eight great piers undoubtedly belong to the two crossings. They were forty-two feet high and probably carried semicircular arches, which from the width of the church measured about fifty-four feet from the crown to the pavement.

To satisfactorily dispose of the remaining twenty-four piers, we must take the evidence of a contemporary building, the cathedral church of Chichester. From the length of the church of Lewes, and the dimensions assigned to the piers and walls, it seems that, like Chichester, the arches were practically holes cut through a wall, and the piers intermediate solid masses of masonry about ten feet through from east to west and five feet thick, or approximately, as Portinari, says "xxv abowght." Allowing twenty feet from centre to centre of each bay, we dispose of our twenty-four piers thus: allotting four piers to the great apse, and six to the inter-transeptal area, there are fourteen left for the nave—which exactly fulfil our requirements.

The nave and choir would originally be covered with a flat wooden ceiling, afterwards replaced by a pointed vault sixty-three feet to the ridge, or nine feet higher than the crown of the tower arches.

The last item in the list of dimensions states that "The heygthe of the stepil at the fronte is lxxxx fote." This 'stepil' was a western tower occupying the centre of the front as at Ely and Bury St. Edmund's. The southern half of its base was uncovered by the late Mr. John Blaker

some thirty years ago, and is still open for inspection in a garden at the back of the Crescent now in Mr. Parsons' occupation. It is very much thrown over and distorted, consequent upon the treatment the building met with at the hands of the worthies who destroyed it. The door jamb at the west end of the north aisle, which we laid bare last year, had a massive Purbeck marble plinth, carved with a kind of arcade, from which the jamb shafts rose. While however this marble block, being outside the door, was in a perfect state of preservation, the Caen stone ashlar work within was in many places shivered and reddened by the action of fire. It seems therefore that Portinari's minions wrought their work of destruction in the manner he describes, "x, of them, hewed the walles abowte, amonge the whyche, ther were 3 carpentars. thiese made proctes to undersette wher the other cutte away, thother brake and cutte the waules;" the wooden props were then set fire to, and the undermined walls fell in with a crash, which must have been music to their sacrilegious minds. The western tower stood within the last bay of the nave, and the remaining fragment shews that it was not open to the aisles, but the solid walls were covered with an arcade.

The ground plan so far as we have now gone consisted of a nave and aisles of eight bays with a western tower in the middle of the front; a great transept, aisleless, with an apse in each wing, and over the crossing the bell-tower; a choir and aisles four bays long; an eastern transept with an apse in each wing; and beyond this the great apse, with an aisle surrounded by five apsidal chapels. This eastern part of the church must have been a thing of exceeding beauty, both from within and without.

The whole church was 405 feet long internally, or almost exactly equal in length to Lichfield cathedral church.

We must not lose sight of the fact that this was a building of gradual growth. It is almost certain that at first the monks' church was the newly built one dedicated to St. Pancras, which was given them by the founder. It is also more than probable that this was found too small an oratory for an increased number of monks, and con-

verted into a monastic church by building a choir and transepts. Now one striking feature about this great church of Lewes is its narrowness in proportion to its length. Most of our large Norman churches exceed thirty feet in the width of their naves, but Lewes could not have exceeded twenty-four feet; dimensions only approached by the sister houses of Castle Acre and Thetford, and the cathedral church of Chichester, which measure twenty-five feet. But while Castle Acre and Thetford have a total width, including the aisles, of sixty feet, Lewes was only fifty-four. Since we have not yet seen any remains of the nave, the question must rest entirely upon conjecture, but it occurred to me, while looking about for a reason, that the cause of this narrowness was the pre-existence of the founder's church, with which the earliest additions were incorporated, before it was itself re-built.

As the only actual portions of the great church to which we have as yet had access in our time are the extreme east and west ends of it as finally reconstructed, we cannot ascertain the exact point where the building was first enlarged. From analogy with contemporary buildings, we should expect the church, after the first additions to the founder's, to consist of an eastern arm with aisles, three bays long, with an apse (cp. Chichester); an aisleless transept with apse in each wing, and a bell tower at the crossing; and a nave and aisles six bays long--the whole being a little over 200 feet long internally, or an average sized monastic church. The evidence for the extent of the nave seems to rest on slightly stronger grounds than analogy. In examining the ground plan one thing which is at once seen to be anomalous is the decided oblong shape of the cloister, for, with the exception of a few instances due to exigencies of site the cloister of a monastery is invariably as nearly as possible square. Looking at the fact too, that the fraternity had obviously been lengthened, as well as the church at its western end, the evidence becomes tolerably conclusive that the Lewes cloister was originally square, or nearly so, and that, as at Castle Acre, the nave was only equal in length to the cloister alley, or at most did not extend more than one bay to the west of it. This gives us a nave of five or six

bays, which, though it sounds a small number for a Norman church, where the average number is seven or eight, yet if the relative dimensions of pier and arch be borne in mind, the five or six bays will be found to take up as much length as seven or eight of such work as we see at Rochester or Southwell. According to a charter of William, the second earl of Warenne, this first monastic church was dedicated by bishops Ralph of Chichester, Walkelin of Winchester, and Gundulf of Rochester—that is between 1091 and 1098, the actual year not being given.¹

About the same time that Lewes was being enlarged from the little church of St. Pancras into a more convenient monastic one, the mother church of Cluny was undergoing extension. The new works, which were dedicated in 1131, included that feature so exceedingly rare out of England, an eastern transept, with two apses to each wing, and a great apse with corona of chapels. The increasing importance of the priory of Lewes soon made the monks desire to enlarge and glorify their church too. So they began, as usual, at the east end, and taking the new work of the abbey of Cluny as a desirable model, added to their presbytery an eastern transept, with an apse in each arm and a lofty lantern at the crossing; and beyond this an apse with five apsidal chapels encircling its aisle. The nave was also extended westwards four bays, and a massive tower built in the last bay, thus occupying the centre of the front. Then the church was solemnly dedicated, so we learn from a charter of the third earl of Warenne,² the consecrators being Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury; Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester; Robert, bishop of Bath, who was once a monk of Lewes; and Ascelin, bishop of Rochester. The exact year is not given, but the consecrators' dates fix it between 1142 and 1148.

In 1229, according to the Annals “the chapel of the Blessed Mary was constructed anew, and the first mass celebrated in it on the vigil of St. Nicholas³”; but it is not *said* to be at Lewes, and as before noted, the entry may refer to another house altogether. Still, we know there

¹ See Appendix, Note B.

² See Appendix, Note C.

³ m^o.cc^o.xxix^o. Constructa est de novo

capella beate marie & in vigilia sancti Nicolai prima missa celebrata est in ca. f. 168a.

was a chapel of our Lady here, and further its approximate site, for the will of Richard, third earl of Arundel and Surrey, dated December 5th, 1375, directs mass to be said daily in the priory of Lewes, for the repose of his soul, "in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, or else in the chapel of our Lady on the north of the great church."¹ Probably this beautiful Early English chapel lay east of the north arm of the great transept, as at the sister house of Thetford and at Canterbury, or it may have followed such arrangements as those of Ely and Tewkesbury.

In 1243, "on the day of the anniversary of lord William the earl, was placed the foundation in the new work of our church."² Thus the Annals, but though Lewes is not mentioned, the founder's name probably points to this house, and we find in 1247 one John, *magister operum ecclesie*, witnessing a Lewes charter.³ We do not know what this *novum opus* was.

In 1268, Dan William de Foville, prior of Lewes, died and bequeathed to the monastery, amongst other items, "two hundred marks sterling towards finishing the two towers at the front of the church."⁴ All previous writers have assumed these to be a pair of western towers. But we know there was only *one* western tower, and that in the centre of the front. Unless, therefore, a pair of stair turrets flanking the west front, like those at Ely and Lincoln, be meant, the word "front" must be restricted, in its mediæval sense, to the east end, and the two turrets may be a pair flanking the great apse. Compare the towers in a similar position at Canterbury.

We have now come to an end of both our documentary and architectural history of the fabric, but there remain a few records of burials, &c., which throw a little light on the arrangement of the church.

The previous mention of chapels of St. Thomas and the Blessed Virgin Mary implies the existence of altars to those saints. In 1238 we meet with the gift of a message to the altar of the Holy Cross in the great

¹ Test. Vetust. p. 94.

² m^o.cc^o.xliij^o. In die anniversarij domini Willelmi Comititis positum est fundamentum in novo opere ecclesie nostre. f. 168b.

³ Chartulary, f.

⁴ "Item ad duas turres in fronte ecclesie perficiendas. cc marcas-sterling." Annals, f. 170b.

church.¹ This altar doubtless stood against the centre of the roodloft. It was the scene of a miraculous cure in 1250, in which year, on the day of SS. Processus and Martinian, a certain infirm man who was crippled in an arm and both knees was made whole at the Holy Cross of St. Pancras at Lewes.² In 1262 the Annals record³ the death of one John de Gatesdene who was buried before the altar of St. James, but the name of the monastery is not given. In 1341, Sir Edward St. John was buried in the chapel of St. Martin.⁴ By his will, dated 1374, William Laxman desires his body to be buried "before the image of the Crucifix situated in the north part of the same church, and which has been newly painted."⁵ In 1379 Sir John de Arundel wills to be buried "in the priory at Lewes in the great church there under an arch near the funeral chapel."⁶ In 1385 Dame Joan St. John desires to be buried in the chapel of St. Mary near her husband.⁷ The will of George Neville, Lord of Abergavenny, dated July 1, 1491, desires his body to be buried on the south side of the altar, "where I have lately made a tomb for my body."⁸ A bull's head in brass, part of the heraldic decoration of this tomb, was discovered during the excavations of 1845. Under the south arch of the eastern crossing was also found a grave with the leaden *bullæ* of pope Clement VI, beneath the skull of the deceased. It has been suggested that this marks the sepulchre of John, the last earl of Warenne, who died in 1347, and had been excommunicated by the archbishop for gross immorality. Dugdale records that he "lieth buried alone under a raised Tomb, near the High Altar."⁹ In 1492 Sir John Falvesley is said to have been buried

¹ "Ad altare sancte crucis in magna ecclesia."—Chartulary, f. 55.

² m^o cc^o l^o. In hoc anno die sanctorum processi & martiniani quidam infirmus quasi contractus de brachio et ambabus (*sic*) genibus sanabatur ad sanctam crucem sancti pancracij de lewes.—Annals, f. 169 a.

³ m^o cc^o lxiij. "Obiit Johannes de Gatesdene in vigilia sancti pasche & in die mercurii postea positus fuit in terra ante altare sancti iacobi."—f. 170 a.

⁴ Add. MS. (Burrell) 5706, f. 177.

⁵ "Corpusque meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Prioratus de Lewes videlicet

coram ymagine crucifixi situata in parte boreali eiusdem ecclesie et que noviter est depicta."—Sussex Arch. Coll., xxv, 149.

⁶ Test Vetust., 105.

⁷ Test Vetust., 120.

⁸ Test Vetust., 406.

⁹ Dugdale's Baronage, p. 82. This and other entries are given by Dugdale as from the Register of Lewes in *Bibl. Selden An.* 1650; but I have not been able to trace the MS. The Editors of the last edition of the *Monasticon* state it is identical with the Chartulary in the Cotton MSS., but this is an error.

on the left hand of the image of St. Pancras.¹ We have also record of the burials of numerous persons before or near the high altar. In 1240 Maud, second wife of William, fifth earl of Warenne, "was buried in the midst of the Quire in the Abbey of Lewes before the High Altar."² In 1255, the countess Alicia, widow of the sixth earl, was buried before the high altar;³ and in 1286, her son, Sir William de Warenne, was buried by the archbishop of Canterbury "before the high altar on the left side beside his mother."⁴ Dugdale also records the burials of Joan, wife of the last-named Sir William, who died 1293, "and lieth buried with her husband before the High Altar at Lewes, under a high Tomb";⁵ of John, the seventh earl, who died 32 Edward I, "and was buried in the midst of the Pavement in the Quire of the Abbey of Lewes, before the High Altar, with this Epitaph upon his Tombstone :

" ' Vous qe passer ou bouche close,
Prier pur cely ke cy repose :
En vie come vous esti jadis fu,
Et vous tiel, ferretz come je su ;
Sir Johan Count de Garenne gist yey ;
Dieu de sa alme eit merey.
Ky pur sa alme priera.
Troiz mill jours de pardon avera."⁶

We now come to the conventual buildings, the remains of which are fairly extensive. They have an especial interest as affording us an excellent illustration of the manner in which the growing needs of an increasing convent were met by adding to and reconstructing an existing group of buildings.

It is however somewhat curious that no systematic attempt has hitherto been made to describe either the buildings themselves or their architectural history.

The original site granted by the founder to his monks appears to have consisted mainly of an elevated ridge, of no great width, running east and west, and lying between a valley on the north, and a great alluvial flat, probably more or less under water most of the year, on the south.

¹ "Add. MS." (Burrell), 5706. f 177.

² "Dugd. Bar.," p. 77.

³ "Annals," f 169 b.

⁴ "Ante magnum altare in sinistra parte

iuxta matrem suam."—"Annals," f 173 a.

⁵ "Paronage," p. 80.

⁶ "Ibid," p. 80

In fact, the founder mentions "the island on which the monastery is situated" in his charter.¹ On this ridge was placed the church, with the conventual buildings to the south. This side appears to have been chosen, not because of the water supply, for there was a stream on each side of the ridge; but because a main thoroughfare ran along the top of the ridge, to the south of which stood the little church of St. Pancras already described as being the first *oratorium* of the priory. Owing therefore to the narrow width thus left, there was not room on the ridge for the whole of the buildings, and they were accordingly carried southward on a series of undercrofts.² It is necessary to bear this in mind to explain certain apparent anomalies which arise as we proceed.

The arrangement of a Cluniac house seems to differ in no important point from the regular Benedictine plan.

Thus the *claustrum* (cloister) was placed on the south side of the nave of the church; with the great transept, the *capitulum* (chapter house), and the apartment called by most Orders of religious the *calefactorium*, forming the range on its east side. Over the *capitulum* and *calefactorium* was the *dormitorium*, extending right up to the transept, and having at its south end the *domūs necessariae*, a detached building approached by a bridge. South of the cloister were the *refectorium* (fratry) and *coquina regularis* (regular kitchen); and on the west the range under the care of the cellarer called the *cellarium*. The *domus infirmorum*, or abode of sick and infirm monks, was placed to the east of the claustral buildings. All the other offices, such as the almonry, guest houses, bakery, brewery, and stables, lay to the west in the outer court, which was entered by a large gatehouse set in the precinct wall encompassing the whole of the monastery. The prior seems to have slept in the common dormitory, at any rate at first, and did not occupy a separate dwelling. I cannot say whether the novices had a special portion of the buildings allotted to them or not.

The cloister of Lewes Priory, unlike the generality of

¹ "Insulam in qua monasterium situm est." See Appendix.

² A precisely parallel case occurs at Battle Abbey, where the site of the high

altar was fixed by the place of Harold's death, on the famous hill of Senlac. Here the whole of the dormitory is carried on a magnificent series of undercrofts.

examples, which are more or less square, was decidedly an oblong. The south east angle was opened out in the railway embankment during our diggings last year, and the south-west angle in 1845; the other two remain buried. We can nevertheless ascertain the extent with tolerable certainty from other data, and find it measured about 90 feet from north to south, and 130 feet from east to west. There is however no doubt that originally the cloister was square; but why was it enlarged? and why was its shape altered? The first question is easily answered; because the increased number of monks made it necessary to provide more room for them in the cloister, where they actually lived and spent much of their time, and which had been built of too small a size in the first place for a large convent. For the explanation of its altered shape we must return to the description of the site. Between the south wall of the nave, and the abrupt descent of the ridge on which the priory stood to the alluvial flat, there was only sufficient room for the cloister; for even the fraternity had been built out on an undercroft. When therefore the enlargement of the cloister was projected, it was evident that if, simply to preserve its square form, an extension was made southward as well as westward, too great expense would be incurred in rebuilding or otherwise altering the fraternity, as well as the *cellarium*. The cloister was therefore extended by rebuilding the *cellarium* further west and lengthening the fraternity; thus altering the square form into an oblong. And since the alley of the cloister which adjoined the nave of the church was the monks' day apartment, this way of meeting the case gave the needed accommodation for the brethren. These alterations must have taken place about the middle of the twelfth century, in continuation of the work of enlarging the church. The 1845 excavations shewed that the cloister alleys were fourteen feet wide, and the wall enclosing the garth four feet thick.

The site of the *capitulum* or chapter-house now hangs in mid air, having been completely swept away in the construction of the railway. Unfortunately the remains of the walls then discovered were so fragmentary that we cannot recover its width. According to Mr. Parsons'

plan it was originally about fifty feet long. But the chief interest in the chapter-house centres round the extraordinary collection of interments discovered in 1845. The first coffin disturbed was a leaden one with an arched top, containing the bones of a woman. She had been buried in the cloister alley before the chapter-house door. In the chapter-house itself were found no less than thirteen graves.

The first two contained two small leaden cists, about 3 ft. long, 1 foot wide, and 9 inches deep, which were identified by inscriptions as the coffins of William de Warenne, the founder, and his wife Gundrada. From the small size of these receptacles it is evident that the bodies had been removed from some other spot. The most likely one seems to have been behind the high altar of the first conventual church. The removal may therefore be assigned to about 1140, when the extension of the eastern limb of the church took place. These cists are now in Southover church, and the bones have been reburied under Gundrada's own tombstone in the so-called "Warenne chapel." Dugdale,¹ quoting from the missing Register of Lewes, gives this epitaph as engraved on a white stone over the founder's grave:

Hic Gulielmi Comes, locus est laudis tibi fomes,
Hujus fundator, et largus sedis amator.
Iste tuum funus decorat, placuit quia munus
Pauperibus Christi, quod promptâ mente dedisti.
Ille tuos cineres servat Pancratius hæres,
Sanctorum Castris, qui te sociabit in astris.
Optime Pancrati, fer opem te glorificanti;
Daque poli sedem, talem tibi qui dedit ædem.

The inscription on Gundrada's tombstone is as follows :

✠ STIRPS GUNDRADA. DVCV̄ DEC' EVI. NOBILE GERMEN :
INTVLIT. ECCLESIIIS ANGLORV̄ BALSAMA MORV̄ :
MARTHA FVIT MISERIS FVIT EX PIETATE MARIA
PARS OBIIT MARTHE SVP[ER]EST PARS MAGNA MARIE.
O PIE PANCRATI TESTIS PIETATIS ET EQVI.
TE FACIT HEREDE TV̄ CLEMENS SVSCIPIT MATREM
SEXTA KALENDARV̄ IVNII LVX OBVIA CARNIS
IFREGIT ALABASTRVM

¹ Baronage, p. 74.

A third grave contained the remains of a monk in his black habit; doubtless a prior. Part of his cowl is preserved in a box in Southover church.

Of the remaining graves one contained the bones of a boy, a second the skeleton of a gigantic man, a third that of a woman and a very young infant. Nothing, however, was found to identify them. At the foot of one coffin was a small lead cylindrical case about one foot high and eleven inches in diameter,¹ containing human viscera in a saline fluid. Probably the body was embalmed and buried elsewhere. Many members of the families of Warenne and Arundel, beside the founder and his wife, are known to have been buried here. Among them were William the second earl, who died 1135, and "was buried in the Chapter House at Lewes, at the feet of his Father."²

The Visitation of Sussex by Benolte, *temp.* H. VIII,³ has the following notes on interments in the chapter house of the priory of Lewes:

"William the firste Erle Waryne & Surrey furste founder of the House of Saynt Pancras assytuate within the towne of Lewys, in the countye of Sussex, which Willyam & Gondrede his wyffe lieth buried in the Chapytre of the same howse, which Gondrede was daughter unto Kynge Willyam Conqueror.

"Also in the same place adjoynnyng unto hys father lyeth buried Willyam his sone & his wyffe.

"Item in the same places lyes Willyam the fourth Erle of Waryne and Maulde his wyffe daughter to the Erle of Arundell.

"Item in the same howse lyeth Hamelyne brother unto King Henry the seconde & Erle of Waryne by marynge Isabell daughter to Willyam the iij^{de} Erle Waryne.

"It^m more in the same place lyes Richard the first of that name erle Arundell & of Sureye next whome lyeth in a nother tombe Alianor the suster of Henry Duke⁴ of Lancaster.

"Under a playne stone adjoynnyng to the sayd thombes lyes John sone to Richard the seconde Erle of Arundell & Surrey & Phillippe his second wyffe dowghter to Edmond Erle of Marche and next unto the sayd John lyes Willym sone to Richarde erle of Arundell & of Surrey second of that name & Elizabeth his wyffe dowghter to Lord Wil. Bowne erle of Northe hampton."

On the north side of the nave of Chichester cathedral church are the effigies of an earl and countess of Arundel

¹ Now in Southover church.

² Dugdale's Baronage, p. 74.

³ M.S. Coll. of Arms, D. 13. f. 456. I am much indebted to Charles A. Buckler,

Esq., Surrey Herald Extraordinary, for this extract and for drawing my attention to the Chichester effigies.

⁴ Should be *Earl*.

and Surrey, which are believed to have been removed from Lewes Priory at the Suppression. They are thus described by Dallaway.¹

"In the Arundel Chantry now the additional north aisle, is a monument of stone, affixed to the wall, consisting of two tables and effigies, which appear to have been originally one and insulated. Both the figures are of the age of Edward 3rd. The man has the sharp conical helmet and the chain gorget, and on his surcoat a lion rampant. Such were worn by Richard Fitz Alan, Earl of Arundel—in the early part of that reign—and to whom a cenotaph was erected in the Chapel of Lewes Priory. Might it not have been brought here at the Suppression, and then so divided for convenience of space?"

If these effigies did come from Lewes they are probably those of Richard Fitz Alan, earl of Arundel and Surrey, who died in 1376, and his countess, lady Eleanor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, earl of Lancaster, whose tombs Benolte describes as being in the chapter house of Lewes Priory.

If we may assume that the chapter house was of a regulation width—say twenty-seven feet—and if these dimensions be laid down symmetrically with respect to the graves, a narrow space seven feet wide will be left between the north wall and the wall of the transept. We cannot now say that such a space existed, though measurements seem to show that it did, but had it done so it would very well have held the day stairs to the dormitory which otherwise it will be difficult to assign a place for.

On the south side of the chapter house was a slype or covered passage leading from the cloister to the infirmary on the east.

Next to it was an apartment about 44 feet long and 35 feet wide, corresponding in position with the Benedictine common-house or *calefactorium*. In a Cluniac house it appears to be identical with the *officina sanguinis minuendi*, or bleeding-house. A thickening of the east wall seems to shew that the usual fireplace stood there, from whence the apartment derived its name of *calefactorium*.

Over the whole of this range and extending right up to the transept of the church was the *dormitorium*. No remains of it exist, but judging from the undercrofts it was 102 feet long and 35 feet wide. At the south east

¹ "History of Western Sussex," i, 134.

angle was a projecting square building measuring 10 feet by $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet within.

At the south end of the dormitory range, but separated from it by a space some 30 feet wide, was the structure called by the Cluniacs *domūs necessariae*—a name sufficiently descriptive of its purpose. Only the basement now remains, but we are able from it to make out the arrangements pretty clearly. It was a long hall, 96 feet by 25 feet, divided by a longitudinal wall 4 feet thick, pierced at regular intervals by round headed openings about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, into two unequal divisions, the greater 18 feet, the lesser 3 feet wide. The narrow portion formed a fosse or channel, at the bottom of which ran a stream of water, bridged over some 15 feet above by a row of seats. Between each of the external buttresses of the south wall was a narrow window for ventilation. The sides of the main hall were also pierced with window openings—the three at the east end are wonderfully perfect and were found by us last year together with three of those in the north wall. Owing to the great fall in the ground south of the dormitory, the building just described does not seem to have exceeded two stories in height, and its first floor, instead of being, as was customary, on a level with the dormitory floor, was some fifteen feet lower—or on the same line with the floor of the dormitory undercroft. It was however necessary that direct communication should be provided between it and the dormitory, and this seems to have been effected thus: the intervening thirty feet was spanned by a bridge, 35 feet broad, at the *calefactorium* floor level, which was reached from the dormitory by a flight of steps placed in the small square chamber at its south angle mentioned above.

The great drain which conveyed the waste water of the monastery through the *necessarium* may be traced some distance on the west. It is a well-built tunnel 5 feet wide and at least 5 feet high, lined with stone and covered by a barrel vault. At a distance of about ninety feet from where it passed under the buildings it was open to the air some distance and furnished with a sluice gate for flushing purposes. The many absurd stories in circulation at Lewes about subterranean passages to the castle and

elsewhere, derive their origin from this elaborately constructed drain.

Owing to the already-explained difficulty of site—which only left room to the south of the church for the actual cloister—the Lewes refectory, or fratriy as it should be more correctly termed, contrary to the usual custom amongst monks, is built upon an undercroft. The fratriy itself has quite gone, but we are able to recover certain *data* from its sub-vault. Originally it seems to have consisted of five bays, measuring about 97 feet long by $37\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide; but as we may see from the variation in the line of the south wall, and other indications, it has been partly rebuilt and lengthened to 145 feet. The undercroft was divided by a row of columns into two alleys, covered by a quadripartite vault springing from flat engaged pilaster-shafts. Each of the angles at the east end contains a circular stair or vice. That to the south, which has an external door only, has been long open; the other, which opens into the undercroft, was discovered last year in the railway embankment, and by the commendable care of the authorities has been left as we found it, and railed round. The only portions of the undercroft that have escaped demolition are the east end and most of the south wall. The wall space between the first three buttresses of the latter appears to have been spanned by a shallow arch. Query, was this to thicken the wall above for the reader's pulpit? In the first bay is a curious skew passage through the wall, the respective positions of the vaulting pilaster within and the external buttress having prevented its being pierced in a direct line. The next bay has an opening with a straight flight of steps. These must have opened on to the floor of the fratriy itself, but I cannot say why. Whatever their use, they are undoubtedly an insertion of much later date than the walls. Between the second and third bays there appears to be a join of two walls of slightly different dates; the later one pertaining to the extension of the fratriy. Each bay of the newer portion was pierced by a pair of windows, the actual openings being set in the middle of the thickness of the walls. The flight of stairs above-mentioned is inserted in the place of one of the pair of windows in that bay.

Opening out of the north wall of the frater sub-vault was an arched subterranean passage, 3 feet wide and about 6 feet high, much of which still remains. It first goes straight for a short distance; then turns at a right angle for a few feet, and again bending at a small angle, terminates in a domed chamber 4 feet 3 inches in diameter. In the first turn is a manhole. Various fanciful suggestions have been made concerning this mysterious tunnel; but it appears to have been built for no more remarkable purpose than to carry the leaden pipes to the conduit which stood above the dome in the cloister garth, and supplied water to the various lavatories. A small portion of the passage was removed during the construction of the railway; but the remainder has escaped other mutilation than a hole in right angle, by which it may be entered from the garden it now runs under.¹

Of the kitchen only the fragments of three fifteenth century added buttresses remain. These are adorned with flint chequer work, and it is curious that the buttresses stuck against the walls to keep them up should be left while the whole of the kitchen itself has been swept away. Sir William Burrell has the following note on this part of the buildings: "Sept. 13, 1772. I measured part of the Remains of this Priory and found them to be as follow. The Oven was 17 feet diameter, near half of it is standing the Roof is composed of Tyles set perpendicularly,² each $6\frac{1}{2}$ broad, ii long, i thick."³ This "oven" was demolished in 1845.

Nothing is left above ground to shew the plan and extent of the western range, or cellarer's buildings.

A few fragments of the infirmary remain to the east of the dormitory range; but until the application of pick and spade we are quite in the dark as to the disposition of the buildings. According to the Annals,⁴ "the great infirmary was built" in 1218, and the following year, "two houses of the infirmarer were made towards the north after Easter by William de Buckby;" but the

¹ See extract from Woollgar's MSS. in "Horsfield's History of Lewes," p. 250, and *Archæological Journal*, xii, pp. 103, 104

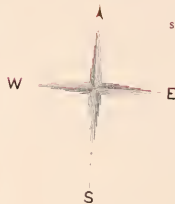
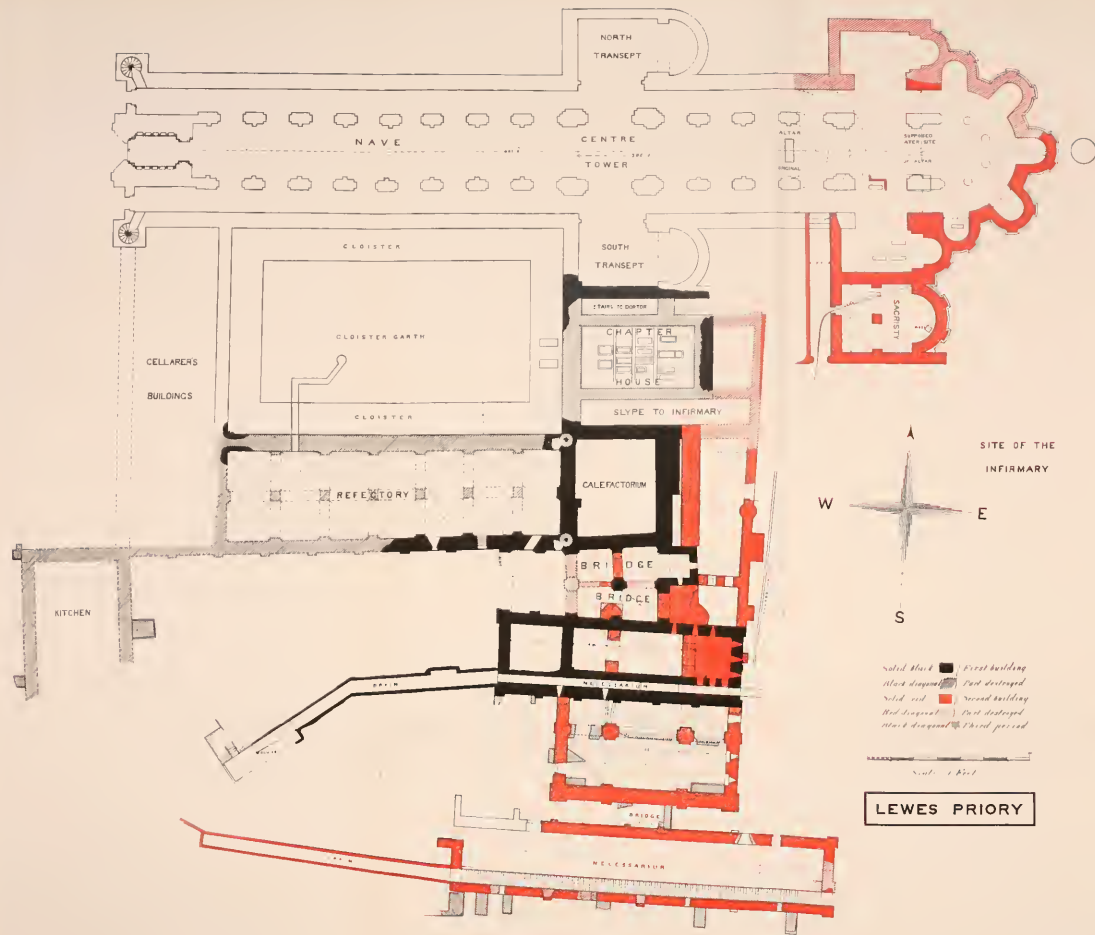
² *edgewise* erased.

³ Add. MS., 5706, f 85.

⁴ m° cc° xvij. Magna infirmaria facta est.

m° cc° xix°. Due domus infirm' versus norht facte sunt post pascham. a Willelmo de buckby.—f. 167 a.



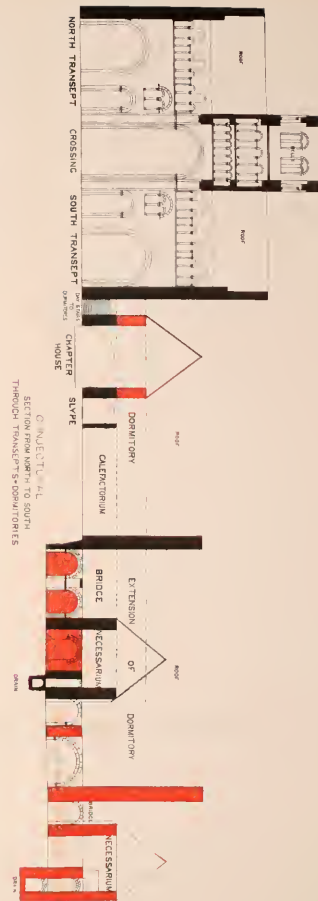


SITE OF THE
INFIRMARY

solid black ■ First building
black diagonal ▤ First destroyed
solid red ■ Second building
red diagonal ▤ Second destroyed
black diagonal ▤ Third period

SCALE 1/4 INCH = 1 FOOT

LEWES PRIORY



entries can hardly refer to Lewes, for the infirmary is named in charters of the second earl of Warenne, who died in 1135, by which time all the temporary buildings must have been replaced by others of stone.

Either at the same time as the final extension of the church *circa* 1145, or immediately afterwards—at any rate within half a century of the erection of the first permanent circuit of offices—the whole of the conventual buildings were enlarged. Not by the costly process of an entire rebuild, but by adding to some and altering others. The reason of the extension, as before, was to obtain increased accommodation.

So far we have been able only to make out the details of the dormitory range—to which our excavations last year were strictly limited—but it is probable that the extension was carried out everywhere.

The great dormitory was evidently thought too small; it was accordingly lengthened from 102 to 213 feet, and its width increased from 35 feet to 69 feet at the south end, and 75 feet at the north end, the two outer walls not being parallel. This enlargement, which was made towards the south and east, was effected in the following manner: the space beneath the bridge to the *necessarium*, and the sub-vault of the latter, were disused, and more or less blocked up with strengthening arches, and in several places filled in solid with earth and chalk; an additional sub-vault was then built on the south of the *necessarium*, consisting of a wide hall 69 feet long with a north aisle.

The west wall of the new undercroft was in line with the west wall of the old dormitory; but the east wall extended as far as the east end of the *necessarium*, in continuation of which a new wall was carried right up to the transept. Upon the enlarged area thus obtained was erected—either entirely *de novo*, or by alteration of what already existed—a building of two stories, the upper one being the dormitory. Owing to its great width, it was divided, at any rate so far as the first floor was concerned, into three alleys by a double row of columns. It will be seen on referring to the plan that the various blocking arches in the sub-vaults are in the lines of these arcades to carry their weight. The east wall of the extension

had a projecting fire-place in the middle of its length, and a few feet north of this a small circular stair.

We have nothing to show that the dormitory occupied the whole of this great space, 213 feet long and 72 feet wide. Even the huge dormitory at Canterbury only measured 148 feet by 78 feet—though there existed a second dormitory 112 feet long and 22 feet wide.

From certain foundations uncovered in 1845, it seems that the chapter house was included in the enlargement of the range of which it forms part, otherwise its east windows would have been rendered useless. It would be interesting to know whether the chapter house was not only lengthened and widened, but also increased in height by absorbing a portion of the length of the dormitory.

To the south of the great dormitory, but separated from it by a space 10 feet wide, is a large structure 158 feet long and $24\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, to which various uses have been assigned. It is often dubbed the 'refectory,' but a careful examination makes its real purpose apparent. We have already seen that the *necessarium* at the end of the first group of buildings was rendered useless during the construction of the second group by the various strengthening arches and filling in inserted to carry the new superstructure; the monks were therefore compelled to erect a new one. Bearing in mind the arrangements of the first one and its relative position with regard to the dormitory, there will be no difficulty whatever in shewing the identity of use of the two buildings.

The one used at Canterbury for the same purpose, and known as the "third dormitory," was a huge enough structure, being 145 feet long and 25 feet wide, but the new *necessarium* at Lewes exceeds it in length by 13 feet. The upper of its two stories has been pulled down, but so much remains above ground that it is perfectly easy to make out the whole arrangement. A strong wall 5 feet thick divided it longitudinally into two unequal divisions; the northern one being a large hall 14 feet wide, and the southern a narrow space only 5 feet 9 inches wide. Through the latter ran from end to end a stream of water, making it in point of fact a great drain or fosse. This was ventilated by four small square headed windows in the south wall. The space above the drain

was bridged over by a series of sixty arches, each 1 foot wide, and separated by an interval of 1 foot 7 inches. The crowns of these arches were about 15 feet from the ground floor line. Upon these arches were carried the wooden partitions separating the sixty-one compartments, each of which was 2 feet 6 inches wide. The longitudinal wall has been removed, but its junction at each end is easily seen; and the springers of the small bridging arches which are left in the south wall may be identified by the square notch cut out at the lower edge for fixing the centering timbers while they were being built. The remains of a window at the east end of the first floor level shew that the longitudinal division wall did not rise above the wooden ceiling of the basement. After the suppression of the priory this building was converted into a malt-house, which explains the removal of the dividing wall, and the existence of the joist holes for the new floor timbers. The water course was only filled up about forty years ago.

As in the case of the first *necessarium*, the first floor line was on the level of the floor of the apartments below the dormitory, and the intervening space was spanned by a bridge 24 feet broad. In later times, the area beneath this bridge was utilized for some purpose, the east end having been filled up by a wall; and there are traces of a flue in one angle, and of a spiral stair up to the bridge.

The new *necessarium* being so much further to the south than the original one, a new tunnel for the water course was constructed, of similar design to the one before described, and the old one disused. The directions taken by both are carefully laid down on the plan.

At some late period a great smash seems to have been feared at the south end of the buildings, for the added sub-vault beneath the dormitory had most of its arches filled up with solid chalk, and the groining of the end compartments strengthened by a lining of the same material. The great buttresses outside the great *necessarium* were added at the same time.

During the excavations of 1882, we found, just outside the east wall of the great dormitory, a covered drain, nearly two feet square in section, running from north to

south. Curiously enough, the majority of the stones which constituted the roof were worked fragments, comprising portions of carved pilasters and spirally fluted jamb shafts, slabs of marble, &c., and part of a large shallow lavatory basin.

Of the buildings of the outer court, such as the almonry, etc., not a trace remains above ground, except part of the gatehouse. This was of the usual type—a hall with double entrance, a large one for horses and vehicles, and a small one for foot passengers. The arches were standing until this century. The south jamb of the great arch still exists *in situ* at the east end of Southover church, while the smaller arch has been taken down and rebuilt at right angles to its former position on another site a few yards away. The gatehouse was of late twelfth century date.

The whole of the buildings and their arrangements have been laid down as carefully as possible on the plan, two colours being used to distinguish the periods. A section is also given of the whole of the eastern range to shew as far as practicable the various levels, &c.

In conclusion, I can only express a hope that future excavations may be made to lay bare the relics of the great church, three-fifths of which still lies buried; also of the great infirmary in the field to the east of our late excavations.

The thanks of archæologists are especially due to the owner, Mr. E. B. Blaker, for so kindly permitting the excavations; and to Mr. Somers Clarke, Jun., F.S.A., by whom the work was initiated, and through whose energy and perseverance most of the necessary funds were obtained from sympathetic friends.

APPENDIX.—NOTE A.

Carta Willelmi Primi fundatoris Prioratus de Iewes.

In nomine patris & filii & Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Ego Willelmus de Warennā & Gundrada uxor mea volentes peregrinationem facere ad sanctum Petrum in Roma. perreximus per plura monasteria que sunt in francia & Burgundia causa orationis. Et cum venissemus in burgundiam. didicimus quod non potuimus secure transire propter guerram que fuit tunc inter papam & imperatorem. Et tunc divertimus ad Cluniacum monasterium. magnam & sanctam abbatiam in honore sancti Petri. & ibi adoravimus & requisivimus sanctum Petrum. Et quia invenimus sancti-

tatem & religionem & caritatem tam magnam ibi & honorem erga nos a bono Priore & a toto sancto conventu . qui receperunt nos in societatem & fraternitatem suam : incepimus habere amorem & devotionem erga illum ordinem & illam domum : super omnes alias domos quas videramus . Sed dominus Hugo sanctus abbas eorum tunc domi non fuit . Et quia longe ante & tunc magis habuimus in proposito & voluntate per consilium domini Lanfranci archiepiscopi ego & uxor mea quod faceremus aliquam domum religionis pro peccatis nostris & salute animarumstrarum . tunc visum fuit nobis quod de nullo alio ordine tam libenter quam de Cluniacensi eam facere vellemus . Et ideo misimus & requisivimus a domino hugone abbate & a tota sancta congregatione quod concederent nobis duos vel tres vel iiij^{or} monachos de sancto grege suo quibus daremus ecclesiam unam quam de lignea lapideam fecimus sub castro nostro Lewiarum que fuit ab antiquo tempore in honore sancti Pancracij & illam daremus eis . Et tantum in principio terrarum & animalium & rerum : unde duodecim monachi possent ibi sustentari . Sed sanctus abbas prius valde nobis fuit durus ad audiendum (*sic*) petitionem nostram propter longinquitatem aliene terre & maxime propter mare . Sed postquam nos perquisivimus licenciam a domino nostro Rege Willelmo adducendi monachos Cluniacenses in anglicam terram . & abbas ex sua parte requisivit voluntatem Regis : tunc tandem donavit & misit nobis . iiij^{or} . de monachis suis dominum lanzonem & tres socios suos quibus donavimus in principio omnia que eis promisimus & confirmavimus per scriptum nostrum quod misimus abbati Cluniacensi & conventui quia noluerunt nobis ante monachos mittere : quam . haberent confirmationem nostram & Regis quam eis perquisivimus de omnibus rebus quas eis donavimus . Et sic dati sunt michi & uxori mee monachi Cluniacenses in Anglicam terram . Post mortem vero domini mei Willelmi Regis cum filius suus venisset Willelmus in Anglicam terram propter regnum . & multa fuisset discordia de regne & dubitatio de fine . & ego in multis periculis cotidie : monstraverunt michi dominus lanzo prior & monachi mei quod apud Cluniacum esset confirmacio mea quam feceram de rebus quas illis dederam in principio & quod ipsi inde nullum munimentum haberent & quod propter dubia & futura tempora deberem eis omnem securitatem de rebus donis & concessis facere . quod feci libenter consilio fidelium meorum per hanc alteram cartam meam Volo ergo quod sciant qui sunt & qui futuri sunt quod ego Willelmus de Warena Surreie comes donavi & confirmavi deo & sancto Petro & abbati & conventui de Cluniaco ecclesiam sancti Pancracij que sita est sub castro meo Lewiarum & eidem sancto Pancracio & monachis Cluniacensibus quicunque in ipsa ecclesia sancti Pancracij deo servient inperpetuum : donavi pro salute anime mee & anime Gundrade uxoris mee & pro anima domini mei Willelmi Regis qui me in anglicam terram adduxit & per cuius licenciam monachos venire feci & qui meam Priorem donationem confirmavit & pro salute domine mee Matildis Regine matris uxoris mee & pro salute domini mei Willelmi Regis filii sui post cuius adventum in Anglicam terram hanc cartam feci & qui me comitem Surregie fecit & pro salute omnium heredum meorum & omnium fidelium christi vivorum & mortuorum in sustentacionem predictorum monachorum Sancti Pancracii mansionem fflamekam nomine totum quicquid ibi in dominio habui cum hida terre quam Eustachius in burgemela tenet & ad ipsam mansionem pertinet . Mansionem quoque Carlentonam nomine quam domina mea Matildis Regina dedit Gundrade

uxori mee & michi. & hoc concessit & confirmavit dominus meus Rex Willelmus in auxilium ad fundandum novos monachos nostros totum quod ibi habuimus. Et in Swamberga quinque hidas & dimidiam terram eciam que vocatur insula iuxta monasterium cum pratis & pascuis. Totam eciam terram quam ego in dominio habui intra insulam in qua monasterium situm est cum molendino super stagnum quod ibi iuxta est posito & cum uno suburbano ibi iuxta posito lewino nomine In tuniaco terram que fuit normanni. virgam terre que vocatur Redrewelle & alteram virgam nomine Stanforde In Westedena duas hydas cum iij^{or} villanis & uno prato Decimas quoque terrarum mearum & illas nominatim quas Richardus presbyter tenet & tenebit in vita sua. ita quod post mortem eius monachis remanebunt. Concessionem feci etiam omnium decimarum quas homines mei ibi dederunt vel postea daturi sunt. Postea vero donavi eis Waltonam cum omnibus liberis hominibus quos Gundrada cum ipsa mansione ibi de me tenuit. quicquid ibi habui tunc inter duas aquas de lineæ & de Wellestream in terris & mariscis & pascuis & aquis cum hominibus & omnibus eorum serviciis & cum omnibus rebus ita quod duo hospicia michi & heredibus meis ibi per annum retinui. unum in eundo in Everwiksire & alterum in redeundo pro omnibus serviciis que michi facere solebant homines de marisco in vecturis & summagiis per terram & aquam huc & illuc & pro omnibus aliis serviciis. unde volo quod liberi & quieti sint erga me & heredes meos de omni servicio imperpetuum. Et si ibi hospitamur plus quam bis in anno : totum quod ibi de suo vel nos vel homines nostri quicumque illuc per annum per nos venerint super duo predicta hospicia expendimus : computabunt & reddemus eis de nostro in fine anni super periculum animarum nostrarum. Sic facio ego & sic faciam & sic volo quod faciant heredes mei. ne propter hanc causam vertant elemosinam meam & suam in servitutem & rapinam sicut volunt salvari in die iudicii. Preterea donavi eis ecclesiam de Aera cum duabus carrucis terre ubi ego & Gundrada adhuc vivens proposuimus facere monasterium & domos & ponere monachos de monachis nostris sancti Pancracij de quibus eciam posuimus primo in ecclesia castelli nostri de Aera & hec promisit michi dominus lanzo quod faceret sic tamen quod Prior & monachi de Aera semper subditi sint & in libera ordinatione Prioris sancti Pancracij Et Prior & Conventus sancti Pancracii habeant & disponant domum de Aera sine omni contradictione sicut proprios monachos suos de claustro suo. & sic faciam si deus servaverit michi vitam & sanitatem. & si non possum perficere : volo quod heres meus perficiat. Et si heredes mei post me in suo tempore aliquam elemosinam fundaverint volo quod eam sancto Pancracio submittant & semper sanctum Pancracium capud honoris sui habeant & ibi se mecum reddant ubi iacet Gundrada uxor mea & ego cum ea reddidi corpus meum & ipsi similiter mecum faciant Omnes has antedictas res dedi deo & sancto Pancracio & monachis ibi deo servituris vivente & volente Gundrada uxore mea & Willelmo & Reynaldo filiis & heredibus meis. Sed post mortem Gundrade feci eis hanc cartam Post cuius mortem donavi eciam eis pro anima illius & mea & omnium heredum meorum mansionem in Norfolk hecham nomine totum quod ibi habui cum terra pagani prepositi & cum omnibus liberis hominibus quorum census idem paganus ibi recipiebat Et hanc donacionem meam volo quod heredes mei concessam & firmatam habeant quia & eam concessit & confirmavit dominus meus Rex Willelmus sicut alias fecerat pater suus. Has

omnes supradictas res donavi monachis ad habendum inperpetuum tam liberas & quietas ab omnibus causis & custumis & serviciis sicut eas liberas habui & sicut aliquis liber homo habet vel habere potest suum dominium vel dare suam elemosinam. Et si eveniat quod rex terre aliquid inde querat vel hidagium vel danegeldum vel qualecumque geldum vel servicium vel quancumque rem ego quam diu vivam eas liberatas & acquietatas faciam sicut meum dominium. & heres meus post me & sui post eum similiter inperpetuum faciant de omnibus rebus quecumque solent vel poterunt vel umquam continget inposterum ab aliquo domino vel homine requiri erga Regem & omnes homines ut monachi semper sint in pace & sui omnes & omnia sua. Pro qua re volo quod si aliqua contencio vel dissensio vel lesura vel aliqua iniuria surgat inter homines sancti Pancracij & me vel meos unde forisfactura eveniat: Prior Sancti Pancracii semper capiat & habeat pro me forisfacturam & emendacionem de hominibus suis ne per hanc causam possint qui venturi sunt ledere & confundere homines sancti & sic volo quod faciant heredes mei Et si ego aliqua adhuc addidero vel heredes mei post me: volo quod omnia illa tam libere donentur & habeantur sicut ego ista omnia donavi & quod ipsi similiter velint & faciant. Et volo quod sicut ego cresco. crescant & res monachorum. & sicut crescunt res & bona eorum. quod crescat numerus eorum & sic volo & laudo & precipio quod velint & faciant & servent heredes mei & firmum & stabile habeant quod ego feci & ego firmum & stabile habeo quod ipsi facturi sunt. Et quicumque contra hanc donacionem meam venerit vel eam in aliquo minuerit vel in peius mutaverit iram & malediccionem dei omnipotentis & celerem vindictam in corde & in anima in hoc mundo & in die iudicij incurrat. Et tota malediccio quam pater potest dare malis filiis suis ex parte mea super illum veniat fiat fiat. Et quicumque hanc meam donacionem servaverit & defenderit & accreverit: benedictionem dei omnipotentis & gratiam in hac vita & in alia in corpore & in anima super se habeat Et tota benedictio quam pater potest dare bonis filiis suis: ex parte mea super eum veniat & maneat sine fine Amen Amen. Similiter precor Deum ut eveniat si heres meus post me vel suus post eum vel quicumque ex successoribus meis aliqua bona addiderit ad ea que ego donavi quicumque post eos contra illorum donacionem venerit in malum veniat deus contra illum in malum & quicumque eam defenderit & servaverit: defendat eum deus ab omni malo. Preterea volo quod sciant monachi mei & heredes mei quod quando ego & Gundrada perquisivimus a domino hugone abbate qui venerat ad loquendum cum domino meo Rege in Normanniam quod redderet nobis dominum lanzonem Priorem nostrum quem toto anno apud Cluniacum retinuerat unde tam commoti fuimus quod pene proposuimus dimittere inceptum nostrum vel auferre eis & dare ecclesiam nostram maiori monasterio. tunc etiam concessit nobis & promisit abbas ad multam deprecationem quod si deus cresceret domum nostram faceret eam sicut unam ex magnis post mortem domini lanzonis vel promocionem in aliquam maiorem dignitatem. quando monachi Sancti pancracij mitterent ad Cluniacum propter Priorem: mitterent eis in priorem unum ex melioribus monachis suis de tota congregacione quem scirent sanctiorem ad ordinem & ad animas regendas secundum deum & sapienciozem ad domum gubernandam secundum seculum preter maiorem Priorem de Cluniaco & Priorem de Caritate. & quod ipse foret ad remanendum & nunquam removeretur nisi tam iusta & manifesta esset causa. quod nemo rationabiliter deberet

contradicere & inde fecit nobis scriptum suum cum sigillo suo quod habeo. Et hec perquisivimus quia timuimus ne dominus lanzo cum redisset cito auferretur nobis quia rex quos meliores invenire potuit: in dignitates ecclesie exaltavit Et nobis audientibus requisivit ab abbate quod mitteret ei duodecim de sanctis monachis suis & eos omnes faceret episcopos & abbates in terra hereditatis sue quam ei dederat deus. Et eciam precogitavimus quod si nova adhuc domus & tenera sepe novum Priorem haberet & in novas manus veniret nunquam ad magnum profectum perveniret Et quia nolimus quod elemosina nostra in posterum in secularem servitutem verteretur: tunc constitutum est inter nos & abbatem quod Cluniacum habeat omni anno .l. solidos monete Anglice de dono sancti Pancracij & sic libera sit ab omni alia servitute & exactione & geldo Et abbas de nulla ordinatione domus se intromittat super Priorem nisi de observancia vel emendacione ordinis ubi Prior emendare non potuerit per se, neque de domibus suis si aliquas unquam per gratiam dei sub se habuerit Sed Prior Sancti Pancracij & Conventus semper eas liberas habeant in sua ordinatione sicut eis fuerint donate & hoc volumus & fecimus quia in desiderio semper & spe fuimus facere domum & ponere monachos apud Acram castellum nostrum quam nolumus alibi nisi Sancto Pancracio esse subiectam. Hanc donacionem & cartam meam feci dominum meum Regem Willelmum apud Wincestriam in consilio concedere & testimoniari per signum sancte crucis de manu sua & per signa & testimonia episcoporum & Comitum & Baronum qui ibi tunc fuerunt feliciter Amen Venientibus contra hec & destruuntibus ea occurrat deus in gladio ire & furoris & viudicte & malediccionis eterne Servantibus autem hec: & defendentibus ea, occurrat deus in pace gracia & misericordia & salute eterna Amen Amen Amen.¹

NOTE B.

Extract from charter of William, the second earl of Warenne.

"Postea vero non post multum tempus cum perfecta fuisset ecclesia sancti Pancracij invitatus sum a Priore Lanzone et a cunctis fratribus eiusdem ecclesie et rogatus ab eis ut eam facerem dedicare, quod libenter et letius concessi et convocavi ipsius diocese episcopum dominum Radulfum et Walkelinum Wintonien et Gundulfum Rovecestr' episcopos ad eum dedicandum. Et facta dedicatione cum ad missam ventum fuisset, vocatus sum ab episcopis ad magnum altare et admonitus ab eis ut secundum consuetudinem sancte ecclesie: providerem dotem ecclesie. De qua eciam re ante fui premuniter et provisu. Monstraverunt quoque michi id ipsum quod michi visum (fuit) non esse magnum dare quod ipse in manu mea vel expensas meas habere non potui sicut ecclesias et decimas. Recogitavi eciam quod non fuit mea nec pura elemosina quam feceram eis de hercham quam pater meus eis prius donaverat et quantum ad me magis videbatur commutacio quedam quam mea donacio & quia de meo proprio quod michi potuissem semper libere retinere volui sancto Pancracio sicut paterno meo et eius monasterio sicut capituli honoris mei aliquod clementum facere in illa die dedicationis ecclesie et hora et loco dedi deo et sancto Pancracio et monachis suis in perpetuum decimam meam non solum omnino decimorum

¹ MS. Cott. Vesp. F. xv. f. 10-11.

meorum tocius terre mee de omnibus rebus undecumque decimam dari debet : Sed eciam totam decimam omnium denariorum meorum de Anglia de redditibus de eventibus de omnibus omnino rebus undecumque et quibuscumque modus michi proveniant de rebus meis Anglie Et hanc decimam denariorum meorum optuli de super altare inperpetuum dotem ecclesie.”¹

Since the consecrators of the church were Ralph Luffa, bishop of Chichester 1091—1123 ; Walkelin, bishop of Winchester 1070—1098 ; and Gundulf, bishop of Rochester 1077—1108, the dedication must have occurred between 1091 and 1098.

NOTE C.

Extract from charter of William, the third earl of Warenne, relative to the second dedication of the church.

“Hec supradicta ego pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum meorum predictis monachis concessi et de. e sol’ in burgo de lewes quum feci dedicare ecclesiam sancti Pancracii et de decima denariorum de omnibus redditibus meis de Anglia dotam ipsam ecclesiam et inde saisivi eam per capillos capitis mei et fratris mei Radulfi de Warennia quos abscidit de capitibus nostris cum cultello ante altare Henricus episcopus Wintoni. Teste Theobaldo Archiepiscopo Cantuar’ Henrico episcopo Wintoni Rodberto episcopo bad’ Ascelino episcopo Rovescestr’ qui eandem ecclesiam dedicaverunt.”²

The prelates here named are Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury 1139—1161 ; Henry de Blois, bishop of Winchester 1129—1171 ; Robert, bishop of Bath 1136—1166 ; and Ascelin, bishop of Rochester 1142—1148. The second dedication must therefore fall between 1142 and 1148.

NOTE D.

Grant of the site of the priory of Lewes by Henry VIII. to Thomas Cromwell, lord Cromwell, 16 Febr., 29 Hen. VIII. (1537-8).

“Rex omnibus ad quos, etc, Salutem. Cum quidam finis coram Iusticiariis nostris in Curia nostra de communi Banco apud Westmonasterium in Crastino Sancti Martini Anno regni nostri vicesimo nono levat’ fuit inter nos querent’ et Robertum nuper Priorem monasterii Sancti Pancratii de lewes in Comitatu nostro Sussex’ per nomen Roberti prioris monasterij sancti Pancratij de lewes in comitatu nostro Sussex’ deforciant inter alia de Maneriis de Swanbergh Kyngeston iuxta lewes Southover,” etc., etc.

After enumerating all the manors and advowsons possessed by the priories of Lewes and Castle Acre, the grant proceeds :

“Sciatis quod nos in consideracione boni vi’ et fidelis servicij nobis per dilectum Consiliarium nostrum Thomam Cromwell militem dominum Cromwell Custodem privati Sigilli nostri ante hec tempora fact’ et impens’ de gratia nostra speciali et ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per presentes pro nobis heredibus & successoribus nostris

¹ Chartulary, f. 14.

² Ibid. f. 16b.

damus et concedimus eidem Thome Crumwell militi domino Crumwell totum dictum nuper monasterium sive prioratum de lewes predictum in dicto Comitatu nostro Sussex' ac totum seitum fundum circuitum et precinctum eiusdem nuper monasterij sive prioratus de lewes Necnon totam ecclesiam Campanile et Cemitorium eiusdem nuper Monasterij de lewes ac omnia mesuagia domos edificia orrea grangeas stabula Columbaria aquas magna pomaria gardina terram et solum nostra tam infra quam extra ac iuxta et prope seitum septum circuitum ambitum et precinctum eiusdem nuper monasterij de lewes predicti in southover Kyngeston iuxta lewes et lewes in predicto Comitatu nostro Sussex vel in earum aliqua Ac etiam omnia predicta maneria de Swanbergh," etc., etc.¹

¹ Rot. Pat. 29 Hen. VIII., pars 2.